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ABSTRACT

Purposes of this paper are to analyze youth's reactions to Watergate, look at the effects of age, class, and sex upon Watergate orientations, study the impact that school has had on these adolescent perceptions, and speculate about the American political future with these images in mind. Data are obtained from a questionnaire survey of 370 eighth and eleventh grade students. Among the findings are the following: (1) the older students are more informed; (2) in both age groups, students whose fathers are manual laborers have less knowledge of Watergate than do students whose fathers are professionals; (3) no association is found between sex and response pattern; (4) adolescents do not report schools as their most accurate source of information; (5) the older students will enter the political system far less willing to accept traditional patterns of trust and confidence; however, the informed negativism of the older group is accompanied by an increase in the sense of efficacy. The results of a teacher survey about class discussions of Watergate are also included. Questionnaire items, computation procedures, and references are provided in the appendices. (Author/RM)

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PERCEPTIONS OF WATERGATE AMONG ADOLESCENTS: IMPACTS UPON POLITICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

by

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INTRODUCTION

"The President takes care of the country . . . he runs things"

American Eighth Grader, 1973

"I'm not a crook."

Richard Nixon, 1973

The reactions of the young to the Watergate affair are of interest and concern to many. The long-term effects of Watergate will never be evaluated with accuracy until we know whether exposure to the daily unfolding of events surrounding Watergate have altered at all the political orientations and values of those young in 1972, 1973, and 1974. Ultimately, it is the behavior of today's youth which will leave its mark upon American politics and hence, leave perhaps the most telling legacy of Watergate.

Even though we cannot know that behavior, we can begin to cast about for clues as to the manners in which Watergate is being perceived by today's youth and attempt to identify some of those channels through which information about Watergate is travelling. If perceptions of Watergate form patterns explained by information sources and traditional theories of political learning, then we have the basis for analysis in the future of whatever patterns these perceptions lead to in terms of political behavior. It is therefore the purpose of this paper to sketch perceptions of

Watergate found among a sample of youth, to search for explanations of these perceptions, with particular emphasis upon the school, and then to join with cadres of others in speculating about the American political future with such images in mind.

PROBLEM

Curriculum writers generally agree that the bases for curriculum decisions rest upon society's needs, the structure of knowledge, and the complexities of the learner. It has long been in the best interests of American society for children and adolescents to be given civic education, lessons in democracy, and encouraged to have patriotic heroes. These approaches to political socialization can be found in textbooks, units of study, audio-visual presentations, weekly current events papers, and in practice by student government and Boys'-Girls' Days in local and state governments.

But what do the schools do with a phenomenon such as Watergate? Does the community want the schools to become involved? Have teachers analyzed well enough, based on incomplete facts, to be able to help students examine and analyze? Is the learner already bored, prejudiced? Recently the National Education Association called for Watergate-related issues to be discussed in the American classroom. Is this being done? What effect has school discussion had? Do students know facts? Can students make judgments? One of the purposes of this research is to begin to learn

what impact school has had on adolescent perceptions of Watergate and from this to suggest implications for curriculum.

In a broader sense the mapping of adolescent thinking about Watergate is vital at present as we attempt to provide data about the adolescent portion of the present state of the American political environment. Further, Watergate has raised serious questions as to the level of support necessary for "regime-functioning." How present and future publics conceptualize and react to major political events is crucial to the maintenance of minimum levels of system support--the legitimacy attached to the political regime which in turn is related to the level of authority exercised by political decision-makers. The political socialization of the young, therefore, becomes an important reference point in our analysis of adolescent reactions to Watergate. In simpler terms, do the patterns we detect provide evidence to alter in any fashion previous findings regarding the induction of youth into the American political system?

There are two theoretical aspects of the adolescent's reaction to Watergate. First, we must consider the object of his reaction: what dimensions of Watergate does he perceive. Second, we must examine the reaction itself: what are the key cognitive and evaluative links between Watergate and the adolescent. Previous work in the area of political socialization has stressed various points along both of these dimensions. As Merelman (1971) has summarized,

the "objects of political orientations" can be rather precise and fixed: authority figures; office-holders; laws; legislative bodies; political communities. The objects can also be transient in nature: political parties; political issues; political values. "Watergate" must, therefore, be clearly located on this continuum of political objects in order to proceed with any coherent analysis. In a rather arbitrary fashion, we have decided to approach Watergate as a political issue and emphasize its aggregative impact upon adolescents. This does not imply that we refuse to recognize the possibility that Watergate may more accurately be seen as a series of discrete observations of the behavior of such fixed political authorities as the President, judges, staffers, and so on. We simply start with the assumption that "Watergate" is a codeword for a package of events which will trigger reactions which form the substance of our analysis.

Our second problem is to focus upon certain types of orientations toward Watergate. Previous work dealing with orientation of the young toward political issues have emphasized both the cognitive and the evaluative styles adopted in the confrontation with the issue. We have followed this approach and have structured the dependent variables of the study around the cognitive dimensions of Watergate as an issue along with the evaluative stances toward the issue.

DESIGN

This study is based upon initial review of the data gained from a questionnaire survey of 378 adolescents in the metropolitan area of a large city in a middle-southern state. The survey was taken during the first week of December, 1973.

The sample was drawn from four public junior high schools, two public high schools, one public combined junior and high school and two private schools. Selection of the schools approximately reflected the student population of the area. Selection of students within schools was based upon social studies classes at the eighth and eleventh grade levels. The use of grade for selection of general age accounts for the age distribution and should be noted throughout the study.

The survey instrument used in this study developed in four stages. Open-ended questions probing broad reactions to Watergate, President Nixon, and the American Presidency were asked of randomly selected adolescents (N=43), during July, 1973, in the categories of "Knowledge," "Cause-Effect thinking," and "Right-Wrong criteria." The authors had proposed to use these interviews as the basis for the study but became interested in the consistent trends and patterns which emerged and decided to develop a more extensive instrument and broader sample.

The response from the interviews which were tape recorded were categorized and from these a questionnaire was developed. The

format was multiple-choice responses with an optional, open-ended response where appropriate. A pre-test involving two schools from the sample area was administered (N=89) using the questionnaire. From this pre-test the final instrument was written.

PROCEDURE

Our major objective is to identify broad cognitions and evaluations of Watergate and search for linkages with traditional socializers and information sources in the environment of the adolescent. In the broadest sense, the ultimate aims of the research project are to link variances in the cognitive and evaluative treatment of Watergate with an array of socializing institutions, information sources, and other possible influences acting upon the formation of adolescent perceptions. As pointed out above, this paper represents the "first cut" in this task. As our choice of method emphasizes, we are essentially working at the level of broad association. Further work with the data must proceed questions of causality. The reader is advised to consider the findings presented in the context of a working paper rather than a definitive piece. The importance of timliness has prompted this stance by the authors.

The independent variables of the study are of two general types. We first are interested in the effects of age, class, and sex upon Watergate orientations. The second group focuses on other sources of information about Watergate with emphasis on the role of the school.

Age

Previous studies of political learning have emphasized that as children enter adolescence, the capacities to deal with political matters increases both cognitively and evaluatively. Much discussion centers on the cause of this phenomenon: some attribute it to the child's own personality development with minimal emphasis on environment; others suggest age reflects the changing mileau in which a child operates. For our purposes, we use general age as a benchmark to compare with the effects of the other dependent variables. If changing perceptions of Watergate are a function of age, then the impacts of other variables such as school and social class become random.

Because we are looking at broad impacts of variables, the sample is structured around eighth (N=184) and eleventh (N=194) graders. (Therefore, "grade," not age, will be used to identify the age deviance.)

Class

As a predictor of political learning, social class ranks second only to age. As a reflection of social environment and particular packages of social values, some measures of class are crucial in any study of socialization. We have chosen an objective-class indicator, father's occupation, as the basis for the class variable. Following the approach developed by Congalton (1969),

reported occupations are the basis for a three-fold class division of the sample: Professionals (N=43); White Collar (N=166); Manual (N=131).

Sex

Recent findings indicate that the impact of sex upon political learning has become more confusing than the earlier reports of the traditional patterns of male and female political roles. We introduce sex differences to further examine this trend (Males, N=163; Females, N=215).

Information Factors

The legitimatized (Renneker, 1959; Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Langton, 1967) agents of political socialization are the family, school, peer (including neighborhood and friendship) groups, and media. We have attempted to measure the influence of some of these groups by asking the adolescent questions about these agents. We are aware that it is the interaction among the group of agents that becomes the socializing factor and that attempts to isolate agents have not previously shown significant impact (Rush and Althoff, 1970).

Cognitive and evaluative orientations toward Watergate have been measured along several selected dimensions which are relevant to both goals of the study. These dimensions do not approach exhausiveness, but they do reflect the breadth of issue orientations

to be found in adolescent thinking. (See Appendix A for the survey questions and corresponding mnemonic code.)

Knowledge

In Bloom's (1956) sense, the knowledge variable measures the lowest level of cognition: what factual image of Watergate does the respondent have? Respondents were asked a series of questions regarding the events of Watergate upon which correct and incorrect response could be identified. Seven items were selected and entered into the computation of the knowledge score on the basis of right or wrong selections from a list of alternative answers (See Appendix B for summaries of computations). The questions asked for information regarding the source of the name "Watergate"; the location of "Watergate"; the behavior which initiated the "Watergate" incident; the date of President Nixon's reelection; the date of the Watergate break-in; and the political party which President Nixon belongs to. Responses to all items showed sufficient distribution to permit inclusion into a cumulative scale. No assumption of unidimensionality is made. A second component of the knowledge score consisted of the net correct selections of names from lists in response to two questions: who have pled guilty to burglary in the Watergate incident, and "which of the following have served on President Nixon's staff and/or Cabinet." Correct responses to the first seven questions were weighted at two each while the maximum

score on each of the final two questions was six. The knowledge variable can therefore range between zero and twenty-six. The authors attempted to not define "Watergate" beyond calling it either an "incident" or an "affair."" It was impossible, however, to ask several of the knowledge items without specifying some a priori description of Watergate (as in the "guilty of burglary" item.) Such items were located toward the back of the questionnaire to avoid biasing the responses to questions where definitions of Watergate were being sought but there must always remain the possibility some of the responses were led by cues in the later items. In evaluating perceptions of issues as complex as Watergate, this seems a reasonable risk.

Cause and Effect

Our next task was to probe the cognitive domain for more complex images of understanding of the Watergate issue. Ultimately, it will be important to treat this dimension in the form of variables measuring cognitive skills and conceptual abilities. Our data at present simply reflects a typology of the respondents' perceptions of the causes of Watergate and selected observations on the effects of Watergate.

Interviewing during the pre-tests indicated a rather predictable typology of responses to the question "why did Watergate happen." Respondents were encouraged to think of "the whole Watergate matter." The responses were then coded and the following

classes emerged: money, power, politics is always corrupt, it was a collection of mistakes, and desire to win an election. Obviously these are not mutually exclusive explanations, but we have kept them intact as they do summarize the causal explanations in both the pre-test and the study at hand. (The mnemonic for the variable is "WHYWGC.")

The effect dimension is more complicated. From the pre-test interviewing, the authors extracted four items which ranked of greatest importance when respondents were asked, "In general, what do you think the most important effects of the Watergate affair will be, if any?" The four items were then converted into questionnaire items with appropriate response patterns indicated. In order of specificity, the four dimensions are: the effect on the respondent regarding his faith in Richard Nixon (FANIXE); the effect on the respondent regarding his faith in the office of the President (FAPREE); the effect on the respondent regarding his trust in politics generally (TRUSE); and, the respondent's perception of public confidence in the office of the President (EFNIXE). Distinctions between Richard Nixon and the office of the President in terms of public trust are of interest both as a reflection of conceptual depth and for estimating the probabilities of public support for such proceedings as impeachment in the Congress.

In the process of discussing the effects of Watergate, respondents in the pre-test continually verbalized their opinions

regarding the involvement of the President in both planning and covering-up the events of Watergate. The interrelation between responses to these questions and the responses to the effect questions prompted us to include the items on the questionnaire. Accordingly, data presented here includes responses to the question "Did President Nixon participate in keeping the truth about Watergate from reaching the American people (COVERK)." In addition, we moved again into the "public at large" area and asked "How many Americans believe President Nixon helped cover-up the truth about Watergate after it occured (ANCOVK)."

Another crucial reaction to Watergate included in the broad category of effect is the willingness to comply with the authority of the President. A previous study of adolescents in the same geographical area had probed attitudes toward the presidency and from this study was drawn a number of items for broad comparison. Selected for analysis in the current study is the key question, "Would you obey the President even if you disagreed with him (OBEYP)." The responses to this question are considered as a component of the effect dimension but some conclusions drawn from from comparison with the previous work are also presented.

Moral Judgement

A crucial component of any adolescent's perception of political issues is the degree and type of moral standards he employs in constructing his evaluations of the issues. Previous work

(including our own pre-testing) has shown the validity of probing this area with in-depth interviewing rather than written questionnaires. Early in the process of taping our pre-test interviews, it became quite apparent that impressions of rightness and wrongness of the Watergate events were indeed varying greatly along lines indicating both the complexity of the judgments employed as well as the directions the judgments took. In constructing the questionnaire, however, we were forced to accept the limitations of the instrument and look only for shifts in judgments of rightness and wrongness according to the characteristics of the situation being evaluated and not penetrate the complexities of thinking by which these decisions were reached. In deciding upon which items to include on the questionnaire the authors drew heavily on the pre-test responses to the general questions, "Under what circumstances might the Watergate break-in be justified" and, "How has the Watergate break-in been justified as being 'right'." The items included took the general form, "Was the Watergate break-in right or wrong if . . . ." The conditionals included after "if" were: "if the men expected to be paid for it (PAYM);" "if the men thought they were helping their country (COUNM);" "if the men expected to use the information to increase their personal power (POWM);" "if the men thought they were helping their political party to win the election (ELECM);" "if the President approved of it (NIXAPM)." It should be noted that at this point Watergate

was defined as a "break-in." This was done to test the application of evaluative standards against an aspect of the issue which involved an event that all could agree had actually happened. The conditional aspects of the motivations of those involved is not compounded by the respondents' varying views of what actually happened.

The responses to all six moral judgment items were sought on a five-point "right-wrong" scale with an option provided for "I can't decide." The "I can't decide" category was included to give adolescents the opportunity to express difficulty in deciding moral judgments. In analyzing the data the "I can't decide" was not included.

Efficacy and Cynicism

Two final items were included to provide some indication of the respondents' broad attachments to politics in relation to previous groups of adolescents studied in different times and environments. Although no claim is made that differences between our sample and others along these two dimensions can be attributed to some causal pressure of responses to Watergate, we do think it important to note such shifts if they are evident. The efficacy scale employed is drawn from that developed by Easton and Dennis (1967) and generally taps the individual's sense of control over his political environment. From the focus of political socialization, decline in the sense of political efficacy raises questions

regarding the health of the political regime. In a somewhat inverse way, cynicism also is related to alienation from the politics of the time. As Jennings (1968) described this measure, "political cynicism appears to be a manifestation of a deep-seated suspicion of others' motives and actions." In employing these two measures, then, we were attempting to gain some insight into our sample's broad distributions along a positive/supportive, negative/alienated dimension of linkage with politics which is measured independently of the Watergate issue.

Method of Analysis

The mean score of the dependent variables is used as the unit for comparison in searching for the effects of the independent variables. Use of the mean is first justified in view of the fact that development of cross-tabulations and hence, differences in percentages would be affected by the small expected frequency of many cells when controlling for more than two variables. Second, the authors are probing for broad patterns in the data and therefore are not overly concerned with the development of measures of statistical significance. Further, the sensitivity of the instruments which measure the dependent variables is not adequate for the task of precise calculations of statistical significance. Finally, distribution of most of the response dimensions does not approach normalcy, and thus we must forgo any attempt to develop

the standard difference-of-means tests. The data therefore reflects variations in the measures of central tendency of the dependent variables according to subpopulations defined by the independent variables. The significance of the variations is determined through comparison with other shifts of the mean and not by the probability that the difference occurred by change. This procedure is accomplished through the application of the BREAKDOWN subroutine of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Bent and Hull, 1970) which is specifically designed to carry out such analysis on data of the type presented here.

FINDINGS

Knowledge

Responses to the knowledge of Watergate questions shows that a moderate level of accurate information was held by the sample at large. About half of the sample know that Watergate referred to the headquarters building of the Democratic National Committee. Only 65% of the sample were able to select Washington, D. C., as the location "of the Watergate incident." (See Table 1)

The following data in Table 1 illustrates that the older group was consistently more informed on all items, but the gap between the groups increased with the complex questions dealing with the name source and the "first event." The gap narrowed with the precise question of date and location.

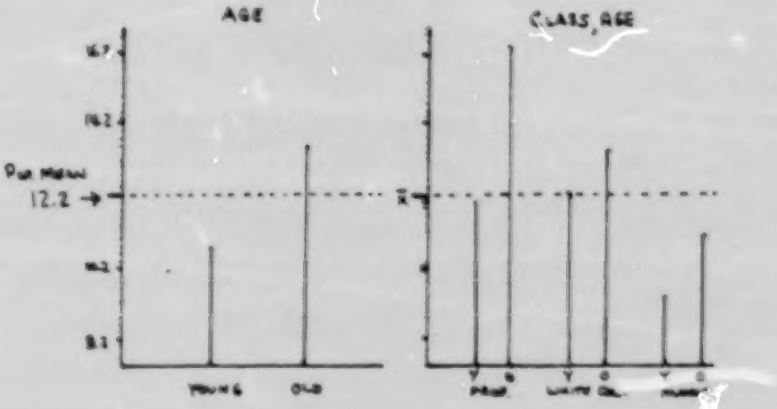
TABLE 1

Correct Responses to Knowledge Items, By Age Group

Knowledge Item	Correct Responses (In %)		
	young	old	total sample
1. Source of news (WGNAPK)	38	56	47
2. Year of Nixon Election (NIXELK)	67	79	73
3. Location of Watergate (WGLOCK)	63	66	65
4. First "event" (WGACTK)	61	78	70
5. Information on Tapes (TAPK)	57	66	61
6. Date of Break-in (WHENK)	35	42	38
7. Nixon's Political Party (NIXPK)	85	96	91

GRAPH 1

MEAN KNOWLEDGE SCORE BY AGE, CLASS



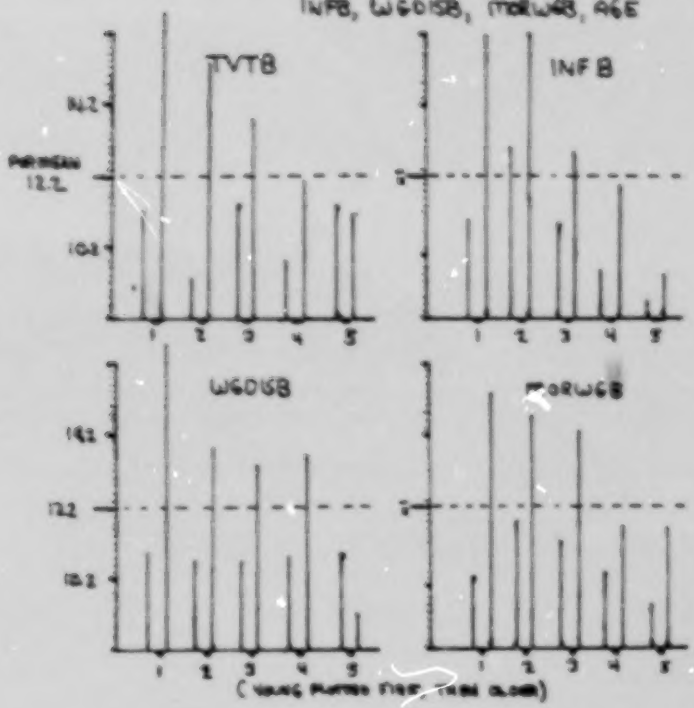
When the cumulative knowledge index was created by adding these dimensions together with the questions on members of the President's staff and cabinet plus the identification of those found guilty of the break-in, the age distinction remained strong. In addition, the class variable, also, proved important. In both age groups, the manual class respondents ranked lower, while in the older group the professionals scored far higher than either of the other two classes. (See Graph 1)

The knowledge score is further related to a number of other factors, particularly in the older age group. As Graph 2 shows, those older respondents who report watching the Watergate hearings frequently, discussing Watergate in school frequently, feel more informed, and wish to discuss Watergate more in school, score higher on the knowledge index. This rather strong relationship does not hold up for the younger group. It is apparent that, for the older group, expressed interest and knowledge is highly related to measured knowledge. In addition, the older respondents who reported television and the papers as the most accurate source of information scored highest on the knowledge items (See Graph 3). Among younger respondents, parents, the President, and the papers were reported as most accurate source of information by those scoring high on the knowledge scale.

The location of discussion in school shows no relation to knowledge except for the younger respondents who reported discussing

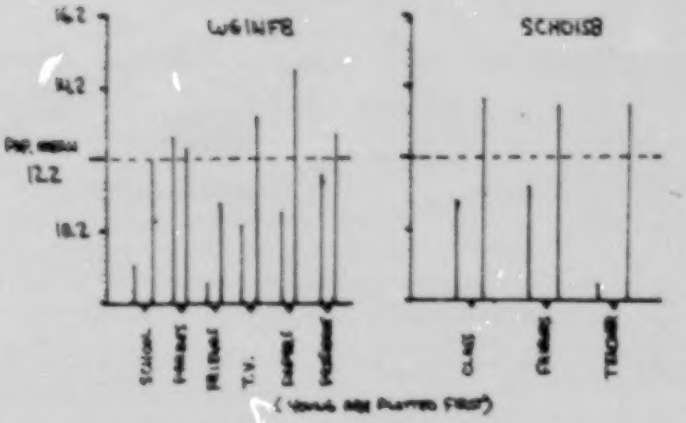
GRAPH 2

MEAN KNOWLEDGE SCORE BY TVTB, INFB, WGDISB, MORWSB, AGE



GRAPH 3

MEAN KNOWLEDGE SCORE BY WGINFB, SCHDISB, AGE



Watergate with their teachers out of class. Interestingly, their knowledge score fell well below the mean.

In summary, the more knowledgable respondents were older, reported watching Watergate on television, saw themselves as informed, saw the papers and television as accurate sources of information, more frequently discussed Watergate in school, but would like to have discussed it even more.

Cause

The reasons offered about why Watergate happened are represented in Table 2. Increasing personal power and winning the election emerge as the most frequent causes cited by the entire sample. The introduction of the age factor, however, adds some important patterns to this conclusion. The younger group had a greater tendency to see Watergate stemming from such less complex explanations as desire for money and winning an election. The older respondents show some tendency to accept the more complicated and involved "personal power" motive. When controls for class were introduced, the only impact was found among the older professionals who indicated on their questionnaire a variety of "other" explanations (19%) and the younger professionals who more readily discarded the "win the election" explanation than their peers (18%) and tended to accept the "mistake" explanation (18%).

Given this rather minimal impact of class, and since this variable is discrete and therefore can only be dealt with by analysis

of contingency tables, the remaining discussion is based on the entire sample responding on the item (N=347).

Little, if any, association was found between the television viewing, frequency of school discussion, and where-in-school-discussion variables and suggested causes of Watergate. Analysis of the "how informed are you" questions shows that those who see themselves as more informed, also, see the "personal power" explanation as more accurate. Additionally, the more informed tended to select the "other" category, indicating the insufficiency of the response categories provided. A very slight tendency was observed for those who wanted to discuss Watergate more in school to select the "power" explanation.

Far more important differences were found when responses about the most accurate source of information and the causes of Watergate were compared. As is shown in Table 3, those who report parents, schools, and the President as the most accurate sources of information tend to see the "politics is corrupt" and the "combination of mistakes" as causes of Watergate more frequently than the sample would predict. Crucial changes in the images of the causes of Watergate center upon the effects of age and one's perception of the accuracy of sources of information. The older group see the seeking of personal power as a greater cause and those who see parents, schools, and the President as accurate information sources look to the most benign of the cause alternatives.

TABLE 2

Responses to WHYWGB by Age Group

Response Category	Percent Selecting		
	young	old	total sample
1. "money"	16	7	12
2. "personal power"	28	36	32
3. "politics always corrupt"	7	9	8
4. "a combination of mistakes"	9	11	10
5. "winning the election"	32	27	29
6. other	6	10	8

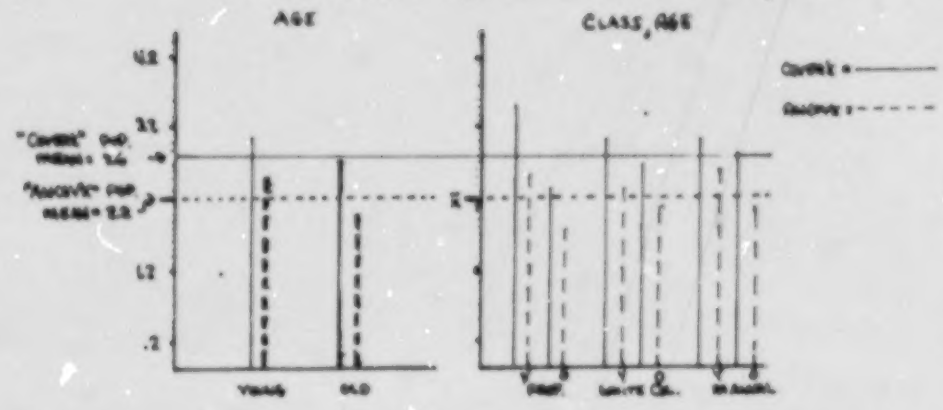
TABLE 3

"WHYWGB" By Most Accurate Source of Information About Watergate (WGINFO)

WHYWGB Response	Most Accurate Source (in %)						
	school	parents	friends	TV	papers	pres.	total
1. "money"	9.5	14.8	0	13.5	9.7	6.2	10.1
2. "personal power"	38.1	22.2	55.6	34.2	35.5	6.2	32.8
3. "politics always corrupt"	14.3	14.8	0	5.9	6.5	6.2	7.1
4. "a combination of mistakes"	4.8	18.5	11.1	9.0	6.5	18.8	9.8
5. "winning the election"	23.8	25.9	22.2	31.5	29.0	31.3	30.1
6. other	9.5	3.7	11.1	5.9	12.9	31.3	9.8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(no)	(21)	(27)	(9)	(222)	(31)	(16)	(326)

GRAPH 4

MEAN "ANCOVK" AND "COVERK" SCORES BY AGE, CLASS



Opinion on Coverup

The two items, COVERK and ANCOVK, tapped the respondent's perceptions of President Nixon's role in the Watergate coverup and the respondent's opinion about the American people's perceptions of his role in the coverup. In the first question, the mean response was 2.6, which is between "yes, probably" and "I can't decide." It is obvious that President Nixon is seen to have participated "in keeping the truth about Watergate from reaching the American people" by a majority of the respondents in the entire sample. In the second question, the mean score is 2.2, which is close to the "many" response. Hence, the respondents seem to extend to other Americans the same perception of participation in the coverup as they find in themselves. In fact, the response patterns to the two questions are almost identical when compared to the various control variables, if one keeps in mind the slight difference between the two population means. We shall consider both questions together in the discussion which follows.

The younger group is less willing to see President Nixon as involved in the coverup than the older group. In the younger group, class differences are extremely slight but in the older group, there is a distinct tendency for professionals to see the President as more involved in the coverup than either the middle or manual classes. (See Graph 4)

In the older group there is a tendency for those who feel

informed about Watergate (INFB) and those who report discussing Watergate in school (SCHDISB) frequently to see the President as more likely to have participated in the coverup. Desire to discuss Watergate more (MORWGB) and reported frequency of watching Watergate hearings on television (TVTB) showed no association with either of the measures. In the older group, those who reported parents, friends, television and the papers as accurate sources of information (SCINFB) are more likely to see the President involved in the coverup. In the younger group, only parents fit this pattern while the others tended to rank the same. Location of discussions of Watergate (SCHDISB) did not identify any important differences in perceptions of involvement in the coverup.

To summarize, there is little doubt that President Nixon is seen to be involved in the Watergate coverup and this perception is not simply a personal opinion but a belief which is extended to other Americans as well. The President fares best with the younger group, with the manual class, and with those who feel uninformed about Watergate. (See Graph 5)

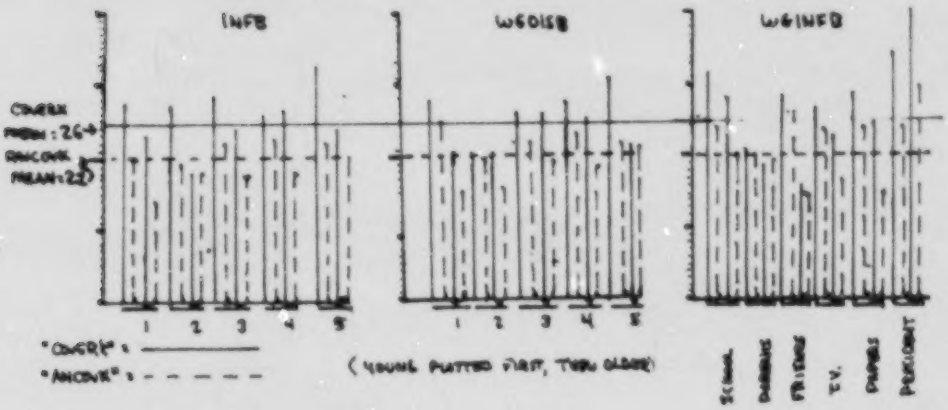
Cynicism

The overall cynicism level of the sample was quite low in comparison with previous studies of adolescent political orientations. The mean score of 1.9 is surprising given the strong feeling of most that the nature of the present political situation in America suggests no reason for such a decline. Furthermore, when

we looked at the distribution of the cynicism mean among our control variables, we were able to detect very little consistent association with anything. Cynicism was the only variable unaffected by age. The same is true of class variations. The only variations which did appear were found with the association of the "most accurate source" and "where is Watergate discussed in the school" items. In the first, lower cynicism scores were associated with those who reported parent or President as the most accurate source. Those reporting papers or friends were slightly more cynical. In the second item, older students who reported discussing Watergate with teachers outside class were far more cynical than the rest of the population. In general, the authors tend to question somewhat the cynicism instrument's ability to measure the conceptual dimension of cynicism outlined earlier. In part, previous uses of the items have included classification of trichotomous response patterns into dichotomous data for analysis. Since the criteria for this transformation has not been published, it may be that the criteria employed by the present authors was sufficiently different to disturb the validity of the instrument (See Appendix B). In summation, we are forced to look to other variables as well for clues about the depth and dimension of political cynicism in our respondents. (See Graph 6)

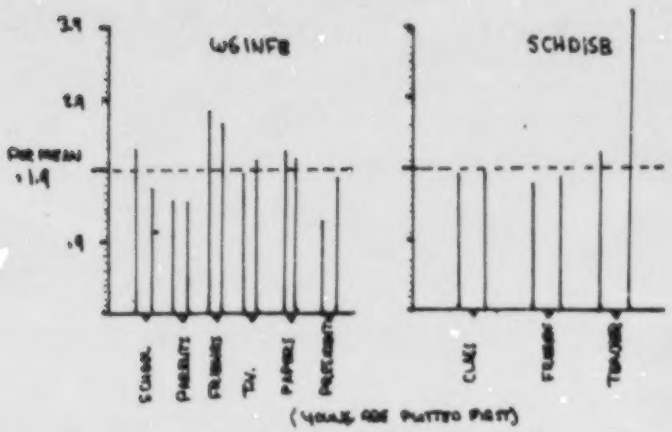
GRAPH 5

MEAN "ANCOVK" AND "COVERK" SCORES BY INFB, WGDISB, WGINFB, AGE



GRAPH 6

MEAN CYNICISM SCORE BY WGINFB, SCHDISB, AGE



Efficacy

The mean efficacy score for the entire sample indicated a sense of efficacy at the mid-point of the scale (3.0). This is broadly similar to other findings but strong comparisons of the absolute scores are difficult. The sense of efficacy was associated with age with the result that the older group is more efficacious than the younger. The moderate degree of difference is consistent with previous findings, especially when the effects of class are observed. In both the younger and the older group, progression from professional to manual results in a declining sense of efficacy. The sense of efficacy is associated with television viewing (TVTB). Particularly among the older group, those who report more frequently watching the Watergate hearings on television have higher senses of efficacy. This effect is less pronounced for the younger group. Members of the older group who report more frequently discussing Watergate in class (WGDISB) also have a moderately higher sense of efficacy. Perceptions of level of information (INFB) and desire to discuss Watergate more (MORWGB) do not show any pattern of association with efficacy. Respondents in the older group who report the President, parents, papers and television as accurate information sources are above average in political efficacy. In the younger group, reporting President and parent lead to efficacy scores far above the rest. It is interesting to note that those reporting school as the most accurate information

source in both age groups are below average in scores of political efficacy. Finally, those who discuss Watergate with their teachers outside of class differ according to age as to their relative efficacy score. In the younger group, discussing Watergate outside of class with teachers is associated with a declining sense of efficacy, while in the older group a slight tendency in the opposite direction is noted. (See Graphs 7 and 8)

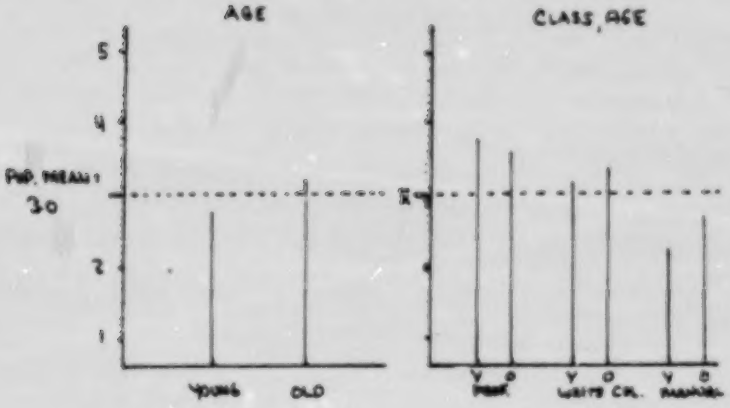
In summary, the sense of efficacy is highest among older professionals who report watching the Watergate hearings on television as well as discussing the topic in school. In contrast with the findings reported about the measure of cynicism, the authors are satisfied that the inclusion of the efficacy variable has maintained the validity of the instrument as a measure of the respondent's sense of control over his political environment. As Easton and Dennis (1967) have suggested, it is important to note that dissatisfaction and criticism of the political system do not necessarily imply a declining sense of efficacy. Those groups most "capable" of informed criticism are also more "capable" of perceiving their own future ability to effect the nature of things they observe. Our findings point this out dramatically.

Obedience

One question was asked, "Would you obey the President even if you disagreed with him? (OBEYB)" The mean response was 3.326 indicating "I don't know." One-third of the total group was in the

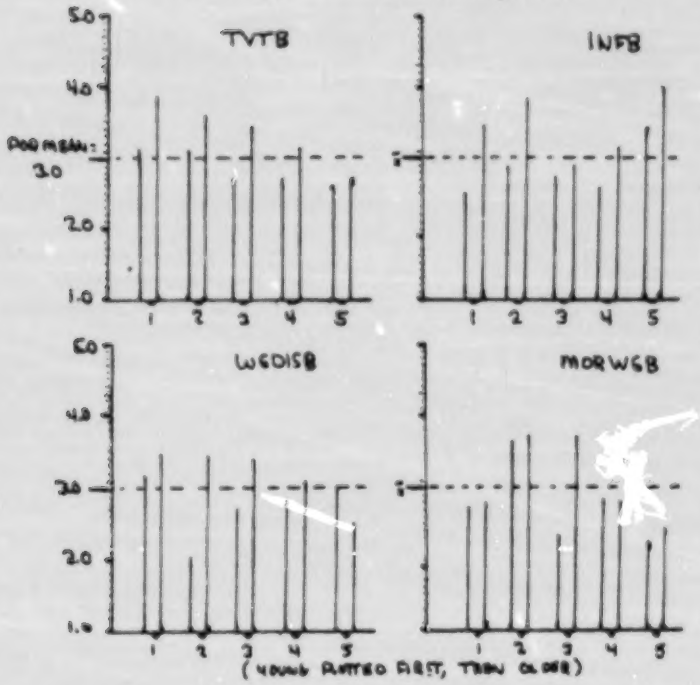
GRAPH 7

MEAN EFFICACY SCORE BY AGE, CLASS



GRAPH 8

MEAN EFFICACY SCORE BY TVTB, WGDISB, WGINFB, SCHDISB, AGE



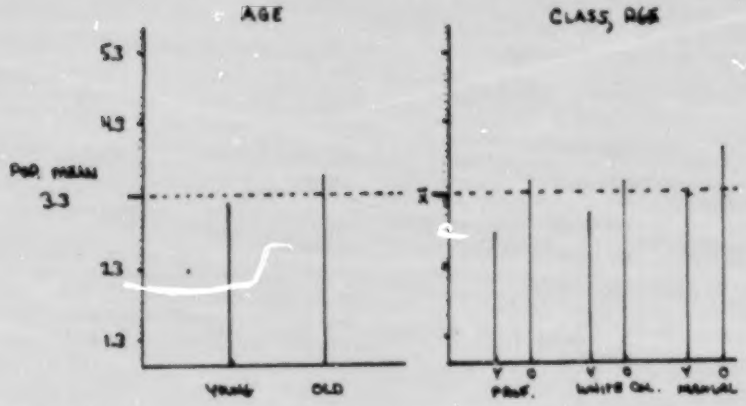
response category. Generally, the younger group was more willing to obey as evidenced by the responses as measured by age (AGEB). Class was a predictor among the younger group with the professional group more willing to obey, followed by the white collar, and then the manual. The older manual group was, also, the least willing to obey. (See Graph 9)

The younger group who feel they are "very informed" (INFB) are more willing to obey than the "ignorant" group, while in the older group the "very informed" are less willing to obey than the "ignorant" group. The younger group who said school was their most accurate source of information (WGINFB) are least willing to obey of all the other infomation sources, while those answering "parents" or "newspapers" are more willing to obey. Among the younger group, those who said they discussed Watergate "frequently" (WGBISB) are most willing to obey; the older group who answered "never" are least willing to obey. The older group who reported that Watergate was discussed with teachers (SCHDISB) are least willing to obey.

In summary, the younger student of the professional class, who watched the Watergate hearings on television, feel informed by frequent Watergate discussions in school, and report their parents and newspapers as their most accurate sources of information are the most willing to obey the President even if they disagree with him.

GRAPH 9

MEAN "OBEY" SCORE BY AGE, CLASS



Effect

Four statements were used to measure effect. All of the mean responses were at the "not changed" level, with faith in Nixon almost reflecting "lessened." The statements and their mean responses are: FAPREE, mean = 3.709; EFNIXE, mean = 3.822; TRUSE, mean = 3.855; FANIXE, mean = 3.911. It is interesting to note that adolescents tended to measure Nixon's effect on them somewhat differently from their perception of his effect on the public.

Recognizing small differences between means, it can be said that the young, professional, who watched the Watergate hearings on television, who feel the President's statements were their most accurate course of information, and who said that they discuss Watergate with teachers out of class are less adversly affected or said their feelings have increased in a "positive" direction. (See Graph 10 and Table 4)

Moral Judgment

The group of moral judgment questions consisted of six statements: Was the Watergate break-in right or wrong if the men thought they were helping their country (COUNM), expected to be well paid (PAYM), expected to use the information to increase their personal power (POWM), thought this act showed loyalty to the President (LOYM), thought they were helping their political party (ELECM), and, was the break-in right or wrong if the President approved of it (NIXAPM)? The respondents were asked to judge the degree of rightness or wrongness on a five-point scale. A value of one represented

GRAPH 10

MEAN RESPONSES TO FAPREE, EFNIXE, TRUSE, FANIXE BY AGE, CLASS

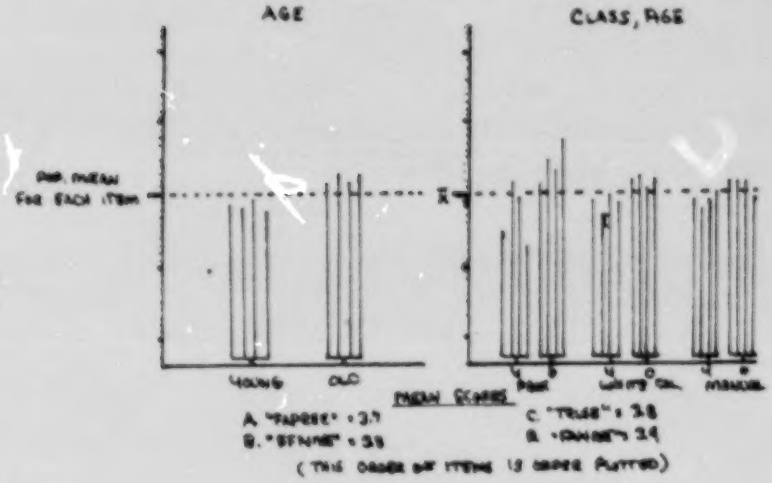


TABLE 4

Responses to "Effect" Items by Age (Total of 4)

Effect Items		Responses (in %)		
		young	old	total sample
FAPREE				
	1	1	1	1
	2	9	3	6
	3	38	35	36
	4	33	36	34
	5	17	24	21
FANIXE				
	1	1	1	1
	2	10	6	8
	3	32	20	26
	4	25	29	27
	5	28	42	35
EFNIXE				
	1	3	2	2
	2	15	7	11
	3	22	9	15
	4	33	42	38
TRUSE				
	1	1	1	1
	2	4	2	3
	3	33	23	27
	4	39	43	41
	5	17	28	23

"wrong," while a value of five represented "right."

All of the mean reponses were at the "wrong" end of the scale, although some distinction was made for motivation as reflected by COUNM. The statements and their mean response are: POWM, mean = 1.410; NIXAPM, mean = 1.488; ELECM, mean = 1.645; PAYM, mean = 1.507; LOYM, mean = 1.968; COUNM, mean - 2.295. It is interesting to note that "for money" was more acceptable than helping one's political party win an election.

Although both groups feel the break-in was "wrong" the younger adolescents are more willing to judge in the "right" direction. When class is introduced, on five statements (PAYM, COUMN, LOYM, ELECM, POWM) younger adolescents of the manual class are less willing to judge absolute "wrong." (See Graph 11)

Moral judgment was influenced by the students' perception of how informed they are (INFB) on three scales, ELECM, COUNM, and LOYM. The older group influenced COUNM and LOYM by showing an increase toward the sample mean between the "very informed" and the "poorly informed." There is a decrease toward the sample mean between the "very informed" and "ignorant" in the younger group's response to ELECM.

The younger group who reported school as the most accurate source of information (WGINFB) are less willing to judge absolute "wrong." They are, also, less willing to judge absolute "wrong" if the newspapers are their most accurate source, except for the scale,

NIXAPM. In most incidences the older adolescents were so willing to judge absolute "wrong" that the source of information had little effect; the one exception is in the COUNM scale where those who said the President's statements were their most accurate sources of information are less willing to judge absolute "wrong."

The frequency of Watergate discussion in school (WGDISB) did not seem to show effect on moral judgments. The older students who said they did not want more discussion (MORWGB) are more willing to accept loyalty (LOYM) as a motive for the break-in. Finally, the younger students who said they discussed Watergate with teachers (SCHDISB) are less willing to judge absolute "wrong" but the older students who said they discuss Watergate with teachers are more willing to judge absolute "wrong." (See Graph 12)

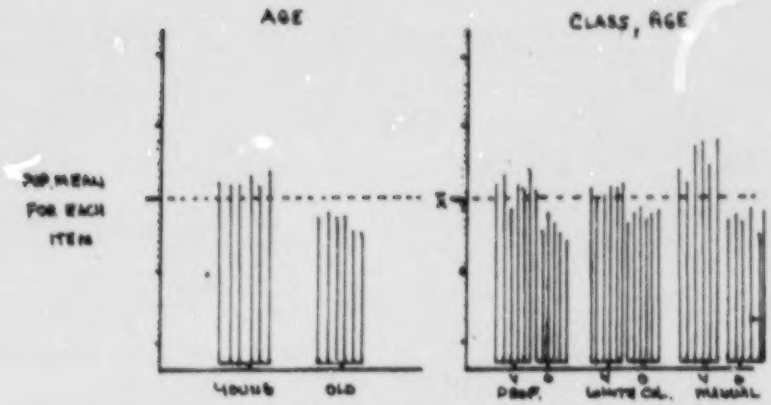
To summarize, the student who is young, of the manual class, and who said their most accurate source of information is the school and discussions with teachers out of class are less willing to judge absolute "wrong" under all of the conditions presented him.

A Comment on Findings Regarding the Sex Variable

At the outset of the paper we noted that we were including sex differences as a part of our independent variable structure. We introduced breakdowns by sex at all stages of the analysis and upon first analysis were unable to detect any consistent influence of sex upon the results. Even in such traditional areas of sex differences as perceived level of political information (as

GRAPH 11

ALL "MORAL" ITEMS - MEAN SCORES BY AGE, CLASS



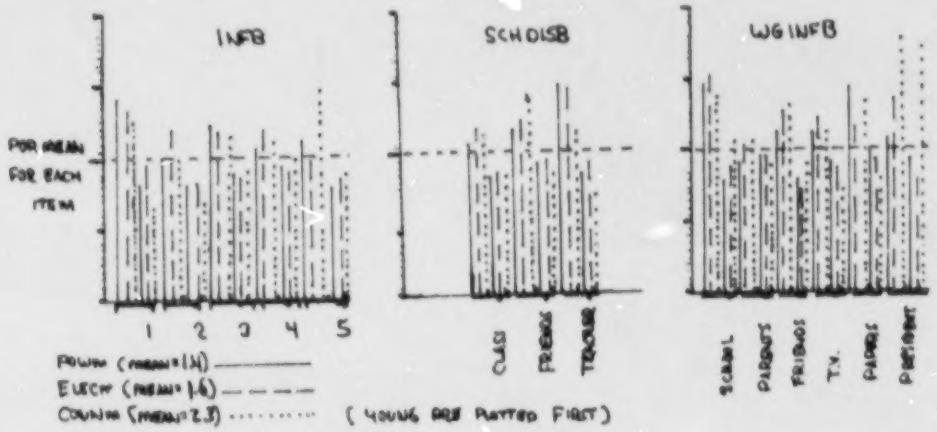
MEAN SCORES

A. "Police"	1.4	D. "Electr"	1.6
B. "Newspaper"	1.5	E. "Union"	2.0
C. "Army"	1.5	F. "Church"	2.3

(THIS ORDER OF ITEMS IS ORDER PLOTTED)

GRAPH 12

THREE "MORAL" ITEMS - MEAN SCORES BY INFB, WGINFB, SCHOLSB, AGE



reflected in INFB) we did not find any association between sex and the response pattern. The probabilities of being informed or uninformed, involved or uninvolved, were not affected by the respondent's being a young man or young woman. We must accept the suggestions of a growing number of analysts that political learning in the adolescent years reflects surrounding society and the gradual shedding of many sex-based roles and patterns of thought.

DISCUSSION

In order to summarize the findings in terms of the initial questions asked, we sought to search for any consistent patterns in the association between the independent variables and the package of questions probing Watergate perception. We decided that although the dimension is loose and not clearly defined, it is important to examine the aggregate perceptions of Watergate along a continuum best defined as "Watergate: Positive/ System: Supportive--Watergate: Negative/ System: Alienated." With the exception of the knowledge variable (KNOW) and to some extent, the question on the causes of Watergate (WHYWGC), the responses to all of our items can be located generally on this continuum. For example, in thinking of the System aspect of the continuum, high scores on the Cynicism and Obey questions would both load heavily on the "Alienated" end of the scale. Likewise, on the Watergate dimension, high scores on the effect items (FANIZE, FAPREE, EFNIXE, and TRUSE) would load heavily on the "Negative" end of the scale. This approach permitted

TABLE 5

Cumulative Loading of Independent Variables
On "Negative-Positive" Dimension
(Controlling for Age)

TVTB	1-2	4-5	INFB	1-2	4-5	AGE	
y	57	24	y	16	25	young	29
o	-32	-29	o	-39	-10	old	-29

WGDISB	1-2	4-5	MORWGB	1-2	4-5	CLASS	Pr	WC	Mgn
y	32	33	y	36	26	y	45	21	32
o	-43	-27	o	-37	-27	o	-48	-21	-31

WGINFB	Sch	Par	Fr	Ty	Pap	Prea	SCHDISB	Class	Fr	Teachers
y	38	13	22	24	25	85	y	12	38	48
o	-13	-4	-78	-36	-25	67	o	-24	-27	-52

us to calculate the aggregate departure from the mean for each subpopulation analyzed and evaluate both the size of this departure and its direction. In so doing, we would have a generalized look at the combined effects of the variables defining the subpopulations along the Watergate/Systemic continuum. Table 5 summarizes our results and further amplifies the tendencies in the data discussed earlier.

Our assumption about the existence of the continuum is partially supported by the differences in the loadings of the age groups, both when we looked at them alone and when we reported the other loadings while controlling for age. Age makes a great deal of difference in the orientations of our respondents to the Watergate events in particular and the political system in general. The younger group is more positively oriented toward the Watergate issue and more supportive of the system when compared with the older group. Although, as our aggregate results have continually shown there is heavy criticism of the issue of Watergate in both age groups, this tendency is less likely to be observed among younger adolescents. This effect of age is amplified further when we examine the influence of class. The younger professionals are the most supportive/positive of the group while the older professionals are the most alienated/negative of the group. Age-related factors reverse entirely the effect of class, expecially the professionals. This pattern is important, and we shall return to

it in a moment after looking at our other factors. Table 5 clearly shows that age is the major influence in the subpopulations defined by TVTB, INFB, WGDISB, and MORWGB. More frequent watching of the Watergate hearings on television is associated with a very positive orientation among the younger group. A very slight association of this type is seen among the older group. The more active behavior of discussing Watergate (WGDISB) leads to a more negative orientation among the older group with no effect among the younger. The perceived level of information about Watergate (INFB) has a similar effect on both age groups. The more the respondent thinks he knows, the more likely he is to be located toward the negative end of the continuum. Finally, the younger respondents who want to discuss Watergate more are more positively oriented than those satisfied with the level of discussion in school while in the older group, the opposite is seen: those wanting more discussion are more negatively oriented. Summarizing these observations leads one to a most obvious conclusion: the young know less about Watergate, are less inclined to see the events of Watergate in a negative manner, are less inclined to be alienated from the political system, reinforce this posture through the media's presentation of Watergate, are relatively uneffected by school discussion of Watergate and, if they do want more discussion, are more positively oriented than their peers who are satisfied with discussion levels. If social class is at all reliable in predicting political involvement as many

have claimed, then the vanguards of this younger group are the professionals, and, as the data demonstrates, they are the most positively oriented of all the class-defined groups. Transition into the older group is thus dramatic. While the knowledge level rises, the general orientation becomes more negative. The class breakdown shows the professionals as leading the way with the most negative orientation of the class groups. A sense of feeling informed, frequently watching the Watergate hearings, discussing Watergate in school, and wanting to discuss Watergate more, all lead to the same direction of association: the negative end of the continuum. The older group, in the space of two or three years has a very different orientation to Watergate than its younger counterpart.

A comment in the discussion needs to be made regarding the lack of longitudinal data in studies such as these. Although we are treating the differences between the younger and older groups as a "transition" from something to something, we of course know that ultimately only longitudinal analysis can define this transition as age-based or generation-based. We do have access to limited data from the same geographical area and socio-economic strata represented by the schools of the present study. This earlier data was gathered in the fall of 1972 and allows a rough comparison of the response to the OBEYP question which asked about the respondent's willingness to obey the President. As Table 6 indicates, if there

is any comparibility between the samples at all, the willingness to obey has declined markedly among both age groups in the past year. Again, this may be seen as an omen of future breakdowns in the fabric of legitimacy in our politics, but our respondents have shown an unwillingness to link a present questionning of the system of authority with a loss of control over their destinies.

SUMMARY

Our findings may appear on the surface to be a most gloomy conclusion. The older group sees very little positive in Watergate. Further, they appear to be perhaps the prelude to a new generation of young adults who will enter the political system far less willing to accept traditional patterns of trust and confidence which have generally linked Americans with their national leaders, particularly the President. We of course do not know what impacts young adulthood will have upon our respondents, and therefore, the patterns seen here may well reverse themselves as adult socialization occurs. Our data does, however, provide another avenue for casting a more positive light on our findings. Significant relationships between Knowledge and Age have already been shown to exist: the older are more informed. Although we question the role of a traditional source of learning, the school, as making a major contribution in the creation of information about Watergate, the older adolescents do know more about the issue. Still, more knowledge coupled with the negative tendency of the data is an incomplete picture.

The missing component is the sense of political efficacy. In loading each dependent variable onto our hypothesized negative-positive continuum, we noted the continual inverse influence of the Efficacy variable. As pointed out in the findings, efficacy does increase with age, and we found this to be the case in nearly all cases where the other dependent variables were loading heavily in a negative direction. Table 7 demonstrates clearly this point.

What emerges is a picture of older adolescents who are critical to the point of being negative about the Watergate issue, its causes, its effects, and the moral values it appears to have damaged. This judgment is not based upon random information--it is based on a strong and obvious growth of information in comparison with their younger peers. Most important, this informed negativism is not accompanied by a massive increase in political cynicism (in so far as our instrument was valid) and is accompanied by an increase in the sense of efficacy, especially in groups such as those from professional-class homes where the negative dimension was most clearly seen. As the findings on the efficacy dimension demonstrated, reported acts such as watching the televised hearings of Watergate which increased negative orientations toward the issue were associated with an increase of efficacy. Clearly, the image of a negatively-tinged reality did not destroy the sense of the capacity to improve, or at least have an effect upon, that reality.

TABLE 6

Comparison of "OBEYP" Responses

Response Alternative	Response (In %)			
	1972		1973	
	young	old	young	old
"yes, all the time"	21	6	10	5
"most of the time"	8	32	19	18
"I don't know"	46	39	38	29
Reccesionally"	8	18	10	18
"no, never"	17	13	22	29

TABLE 7

Loading of Independent Variables on "Efficacy" Mean
(In same Mean units as used in TABLE 5)

	TVFB	1-2	4-8	INFB	1-2	4-8	WKDISB	1-2	4-5	MORWKB	1-2	4-5
y		1	-3		-3	-2		-5	-2		7	-4
o		7	-1		7	3		4	-1		5	-2

	WKINFB	Sch	Mar	Fx	Iv	Pap	Prss	SCHDISB	Class	Fx	Teachers
y		-5	2	-6	-5	-6	16		-3	-2	-8
o		-2	6	-5	2	5	15		3	1	3

In order to take a small step in the direction of explaining the findings we have discussed, a brief survey of social studies teachers in the same geographical area was made at the end of the Fall Semester, 1973. The sample (N=75) was drawn from the membership list of the local group of the National Council for the Social Studies, using only members who are junior-senior high school teachers. Six questions were asked (See Appendix C). The initial return was disappointing: 29%.

Of those responding, 65% reported that class discussions of Watergate were "unplanned-informal." Forty-five percent said they had spent less time in class on Watergate than on other current events; 30% spent more time; 25% spent about the same amount of time. Forty percent of the respondents reported student interest in Watergate high, 20% said it is about average, and 40% said it is low. Forty-five percent reported they felt that students are neither "well informed" nor "ignorant" about Watergate. Six percent felt, that for the average student, Watergate is discussed in class when it is discussed in school.

Teachers reported that Watergate is discussed as current events with emphasis on issues and comparisons with similar historical events. Several reported relating Watergate to planned curriculum. The comments which follow are quotes from teachers in response to questioning about how Watergate is "handled" in their classrooms.

"as the topic seemed relevant to our study"

"related to class material"

"8th graders on the whole are not too informed and don't really care"

"offered as a group discussion topic, but no one chose it"

"two students did as extensive research as possible on the matter and reported on it . . . ."

The comments, low response to the survey, and the treatment by teachers of Watergate may be interpreted as being related. Perhaps teachers do not see Watergate as a phenomenon. They seem to be more inclined to dismiss Watergate as another "happening" not worthy of time and preparation as a major issue. Watergate is a current event, something to be discussed in relation to the planned curriculum not a separate, viable entity. Perhaps, the planned curriculum is too planned.

Schools, created by the public, for the public, assume they have an influential or at least an equalizer role. Our data shows that adolescents do not report schools as their most accurate source of information, and the frequency of school discussion and discussion in class do not seem to have an overwhelming influence. The teachers who reported (and as indicated previously, lack of response may indicate informal methods, apathy) seemed to be not trying; Watergate is just another event to be absorbed and put into proper perspective.

While it must be pointed out that Knowledge and systemic Efficacy increased with higher grade level, we restate the findings that older adolescents are more critical and negative as measured on our continuum. If society wants its adolescents to be this way, then the school's lack of influence is not important, but if society wants adolescents to be positively critical, then the schools' lack of influence may be important.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire Items and Mnemonic Code

Independent Variables

What is your age? (AGEB)

What is your sex? (SEX)

Male 1_____ Female 2_____

What is your father's job? (FATHOB)

When the Watergate Hearings were on TV, how often did you watch them? (TVTB)

1_____ Frequently
2_____ Often
3_____ Sometimes
4_____ Seldom
5_____ Never

How informed do you feel you are about Watergate? (INFB)

1_____ Very informed
2_____ Moderately informed
3_____ Average
4_____ Poorly informed
5_____ Totally ignorant

Where do you feel you've received the most accurate information about Watergate? (WGINFB)

1_____ School
2_____ Parents
3_____ Friends
4_____ Television
5_____ Papers
6_____ President's statements

How much was/is Watergate discussed at your school? (WGDISB)

1_____ Frequently
2_____ Often
3_____ Sometimes
4_____ Seldom
5_____ Never

Would you like to discuss Watergate more in school? (MORWGB)

1____ Yes, a lot more
2____ Yes, some more
3____ I'm satisfied with the present amount of discussion
4____ No, not really
5____ No, definitely

In school, where is Watergate discussed most frequently? (SCHDISB)

1____ In class
2____ With friends
3____ With teachers out of class

Dependent Variables

Knowledge

Where does the name "Watergate" come from? (WGNAMK)

1____ An office building
2____ Presidential offices
3____ Democratic campaign headquarters
4____ Republican campaign headquarters
5____ F.B.I. Headquarters

When was President Nixon re-elected? (NIXELK)

1____ 1970
2____ 1971
3____ 1972
4____ 1973

Where did the Watergate incident happen? (WGLOCK)

1____ New York
2____ Key Biscayne
3____ Los Angeles
4____ Chicago
5____ Washington, D. C.
6____ San Clemente

What party does President Nixon belong to? (NIXPK)

1____ Republican
2____ Democrat

When did the Watergate event occur? (WHENK)

1____ Spring, 1971
2____ Summer, 1972
3____ Summer, 1973
4____ Spring, 1973

What is supposedly on the White House tapes? (TAPK)

1____ Recordings of F.B.I. interviews with Watergate suspects
2____ Recordings of President Nixon's conversations with his staff members
3____ President Nixon's dictated opinion about what really happened in the Watergate affair
4____ Conversations between Democrats about Watergate

What actually happened at the beginning of the "Watergate incident?" (WGACTK)

1____ Money was stolen from the Democrats
2____ Money was stolen from the Republicans
3____ The office of the Democrats was broken into
4____ The office of the Republicans was broken into
5____ Money was given by highway contractors to government officials

Which of the following have served on President Nixon's staff and Cabinet? (CABK)

1____ H. R. Haldeman
2____ Mike Mansfield
3____ John Dean
4____ Howard Baker
5____ James McCord
6____ Carl Albert
7____ Elliot Richardson
8____ John Erlichman
9____ Edmund Muskie
10____ John Mitchell
11____ Gerald Ford
12____ Mark Phillips

Some of the men who have pleaded guilty to burglary, conspiracy, and wiretapping in the Watergate incident are: (check each you think pled guilty) (BURGK)

1____ Richard M. Nixon
2____ G. Gordon Liddy
3____ Virgilio Gonzalez
4____ Howard Baker
5____ Frank A. Sturgis
6____ E. Howard Hunt
7____ H. R. Haldeman
8____ Sam Ervin
9____ Eugenio R. Martinez
10____ Bernard L. Barker

Cause

Why do you think the whole Watergate matter occurred? (WHYWGC)

1____ Desire for money
2____ Desire for power
3____ Politics is always corrupt
4____ A few men made a mistake
5____ Desire to win an election

Effect

What has been the effect of Watergate on you, personally, with regard to your faith in Richard M. Nixon? (FANIXE)

1____ It has increased my faith greatly
2____ It has increased my faith
3____ It has not changed my faith
4____ It has lessened my faith
5____ It has lessened my faith greatly

What has been the effect of Watergate on you, personally, with regard to your faith in the office of the President of the United States? (FAPREE)

1____ It has increased my faith greatly
2____ It has increased my faith
3____ It has not changed my faith
4____ It has lessened my faith
5____ It has lessened my faith greatly

What has been the effect of Watergate on you, personally, with regard to your feelings of trust in politics? (TRUSE)

1____ It has increased my trust greatly
2____ It has increased my trust
3____ It has not changed my trust
4____ It has lessened my trust
5____ It has lessened my trust greatly

What will be the effect of President Nixon's handling of the Watergate matter? (EFNIXE)

1____ Public confidence in the office of the President will be greatly increased
2____ Public confidence in the office of the President will be slightly increased
3____ Public confidence in the office of the President will remain the same
4____ Public confidence in the office of the President will be slightly decreased
5____ Public confidence in the office of the President will be greatly decreased

Did President Nixon participate in keeping the truth about Watergate from reaching the American people? (COVERK)

1____ Yes, definitely
2____ Yes, probably
3____ I can't decide
4____ No, probably
5____ No, definitely

In your opinion, how many Americans believe President Nixon helped cover-up the truth about Watergate after it occurred? (ANCOVK)

1____ Most
2____ Many
3____ Some
4____ Few
5____ None

Would you obey the President even if you disagreed with him? (OBEYP)

1____ Yes, all of the time
2____ Most of the time
3____ I don't know
4____ Occasionally
5____ No, never

Cynicism

How many of the people running the government do you feel are crooked? (CROKCY)

1____ Many
2____ Few
3____ None

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? (TRGOVCY)

1____ Always
2____ Some of the time
3____ Almost never

Thinking of business and the people in America, who do you think really runs the government? (BUSGOCY)

1____ Business
2____ Both do
3____ The people

How much money is wasted by people running the government? (MONWCY)

1____ A lot
2____ Some
3____ Little

How many of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing? (SMAPCY)

1____ Most
2____ Some
3____ Few

Efficacy

My family has a voice in what the government does. (VOICEY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

Americans have a chance to say what they think about running the government. (AMSAYEY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

American citizens have the chance to express their opinions about the way that our country is run. (CITZEY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

What government does is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it. (WEAEY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

I don't think that people in government care much about what people like my family think. (NOCAREY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

There are some big powerful men in government who are running the whole thing, and they do not really care about the rest of us. (BIGMCY)

1____ I agree
2____ I disagree

Moral Judgment

Was the break-in right or wrong if the men thought this act showed their loyalty to the President? (LOYM)

1 2 3 4 5 6
Wrong Right I can't decide

Was the break-in right or wrong if the men expected to use the information to increase their personal power? (POWM)

1 2 3 4 5 6
Wrong Right I can't decide

Was the Watergate break-in right or wrong if the men thought they were helping their country? (COUNM)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Wrong				Right	I can't decide

Was the break-in right or wrong if the men thought they were helping their political party to win the election? (ELECM)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Wrong				Right	I can't decide

Was the break-in right or wrong if the men expected to be well paid for it? (PAYM)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Wrong				Right	I can't decide

Was the break-in right or wrong if the President approved of it? (NIXAPM)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Wrong				Right	I can't decide

APPENDIX B

Computation Procedures

1. Computation of knowledge variable (KNOW):

   KNOW = WGNAMK (if 3) + NIXELK (if 3) + WGLOCK (if 5) +
   WGACTK (if 3) + TAPK (if 2) + WHENK (if 2) +
   NIXPK (if 1) [2 points for each] +
   STAFK + BURGK [total net correct for each]

2. Computation of EFFICACY

   EFFICACY = VOICEY (if 1) + BIGMCY (if 2) +
   NOCAREY (if 2) + CITZEY (if 1) +
   AMSAYEY (if 1) + WEAEY (if 2)
   [1 point for each]

3. Computation of CYNICISM

   CYNICISM = SMAPCY (if 3) + MONWCY (if 1) +
   BUSGOCY (if 1) + TRGOVCY (if 3) +
   CROKCY (if 1) [1 point for each]

APPENDIX C

Letter to Social Studies Teachers

December 12, 1973

To Selected Social Studies Teachers

This survey is being conducted as part of a study assessing adolescent perceptions of Watergate

You are asked to answer the following questions, using the enclosed postcard to record your answers.

1. How would you describe the method you have used this fall in discussing Watergate and related events?

2. How much time in relation to other current events would you estimate you have spent in class on Watergate and related events?

3. How would you assess the level of student interest in Watergate and related events?

4. How informed od you fell is the average student about Watergate and related events?

5. For the average student where in school is Watergate and related events discussed most frequently?

6. Please give examples of the ways you have discussed Watergate and related events (e.g., discussed issues, thematic approach--relating to historical events, current events, lesson in political efficacy, etc.).

Please return the completed card as soon as possible. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Edward H. Cole
Assistant Professor in
Political Science

Patricia A. Moseley
Intructor in Education

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